

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 5 CAPE TOWN 759

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDEV, SF
SUBJECT: PROSPECTS FOR CHANGE: CHANGING DYNAMICS OF THE
BLACK MOVEMENT

1. SUMMARY: THE BLACK STRUGGLE IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS GONE
THROUGH A TRANSFORMATION OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE
GOVERNMENT CRACKDOWN OF OCTOBER 19, 1977 ALTERED THE
DYNAMICS OF THE STRUGGLE. THE MILITANT STUDENT MOVEMENT
HAS FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN THE DIRECTION AND
MOMENTUM OF ITS PAST EFFORTS, AND STUDENTS STILL SEEKING
WAYS TO ESCALATE THE STRUGGLE MAY FIND THEMSELVES DRAWN
INTO THE PROFESSIONAL RANKS OF THE ANC AND THE PAC.

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SUPPRESSION OR INTIMIDATION OF THE MAJOR OVERT ORGANS OF
POLITICAL MOBILIZATION IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY HAS, AT
LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM, ALSO DIMINISHED POPULAR UNREST
IN MOST OF THE TOWNSHIPS, INCLUDING SOWETO. MORE BLACK
CONSERVATIVES ARE AGAIN EMERGING WHO WILL ACCEPT POLITICAL
POSITIONS IN THE URBAN TOWNSHIPS EVEN WITHIN A FRAMEWORK WHICH
THE GOVERNMENT CONTROLS AND ATTEMPTS TO USE TO FURTHER SEPARATE

DEVELOPMENT. ALTHOUGH REJECTING COLLABORATION, MODERATES ARE STILL WILLING TO NEGOTIATE FOR GENUINE AUTONOMY IN THE TOWNSHIPS IN ORDER TO BUILD POWER BASES FOR THE FUTURE.

2. MEANWHILE, CHIEF GATSHA BUTHELEZI WITH HIS STRONG HOMELAND BASE FACES AN INTENSIFIED PROBLEM OF HOW TO ESTABLISH NATIONALIST CREDENTIALS WHICH TRANSCEND THE ZULU PEOPLE, BUT AT THE SAME TIME TO AVOID CROSSING THE UNDEFINED THRESHOLD OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE. IN THIS SITUATION, POLARIZATION BETWEEN BLACK MODERATES ON THE ONE HAND AND YOUNG RADICALS ON THE OTHER APPEARS TO BE INCREASING. THE BLACK COMMUNITY REMAINS LARGELY MODERATE AND OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE, BUT REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE IS BECOMING MORE ACCEPTABLE AND EVEN THE MODERATES ARE ESCALATING THEIR LANGUAGE. OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, BLACK MODERATES WILL CONTINUE TO ORGANIZE AND REORGANIZE TO THE LIMIT OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE, BLACK POWER BASES WITHIN THE SYSTEM MAY CONTINUE GRADUALLY TO EVOLVE, STUDENT PROTESTS AND ASSAULTS ON COLLABORATORS WILL SPORADICALLY FLARE UP AND DIE AWAY, AND ANOTHER "SOWETO 76" COULD ALWAYS OCCUR. MEANWHILE, RESISTANCE ORGANIZED AND SUPPORTED FROM ABROAD WILL VERY LIKELY CONTINUE TO INCREASE. END SUMMARY.

CHANGING DYNAMICS OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT:

3. THE EXPRESSION OF BLACK DISSIDENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA HAS GONE THROUGH A TRANSFORMATION OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE MAJOR
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CATALYSTS ALTERING THE DYNAMICS WERE EXTENSIVE UNREST IN THE TOWNSHIPS BEGINNING IN JUNE 1976, AND THE GOVERNMENT'S DECISION MORE THAN A YEAR LATER TO SUPPRESS ALMOST ALL BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS ORGANS AND MOST PROMINENT BLACK POLITICAL LEADERS. AS A RESULT, THE GOALS OF THE STRUGGLE HAVE BECOME LESS ISSUE-ORIENTED BUT MORE REVOLUTIONARY AND LONG TERM.

4. FOLLOWING THE BLOODY SUPPRESSION OF THE 1976 TOWNSHIP UPHEAVALS, AND WORLD OUTRAGE OVER THE INCIDENTS, THERE WAS AN UPSURGE OF POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY. THIS PERIOD WAS MARKED BY A FLURRY OF ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY AND A FOCUS ON BRINGING DOWN SPECIFIC ASPECTS OF THE APARTHEID SYSTEM. ENCOURAGED BY THE POLITICIZED ATMOSPHERE IN THE TOWNSHIPS, THE MOVEMENT DIVERSIFIED AND EXPANDED. FOUR DISTINCT SECTORS OF THE STRUGGLE, WITH SOME OVERLAPPING FUNCTIONS AND MEMBERSHIP BUT OFTEN COMPETING LEADERSHIP, EMERGED:

(1) STUDENT VIOLENCE AND BOYCOTTS AIMED AT CERTAIN APARTHEID INSTITUTIONS;

(2) VARIOUS ORGANS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS POLITICIZING THE

COMMUNITY;

(3) PRESSURE AND COMMUNITY ACTION GROUPS SEEKING TO NEGOTIATE
CONCRETE ISSUES WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT; AND

(4) GATSHA BUTHELEZI'S ZULU HOMELAND-BASED INKATHA MOVEMENT,
STRIVING TO BUILD A MASS, ANTI-SAG, ANTI-APARTHEID ORGANIZATIONS.

AT THE SAME TIME, SPORADIC BUT BUDDING TERRORIST ACTIVITY
INSPIRED FROM ABROAD BY BANNED SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONALIST GROUPS,
THE ANC AND THE PAC, UNDERSCORED THE ALTERNATIVE TO NEGOTIATION.

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THE SAG REACTION

5. AFTER THE 1976 DISTURBANCES, THE GOVERNMENT SEEMED
UNCERTAIN HOW TO REACT TO THE INCREASED TEMPO AND
DIVERSIFICATION OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT. IT CONTINUED TO
SUPPRESS DISORDERS WITH A STRONG HAND; IT STEPPED UP
HARASSMENT OF THE LEADERSHIP OF THE MILITANT WING OF THE
MOVEMENT, PARTICULARLY THE BLACK PEOPLES CONVENTION (BPC);
AND STRENGTHENED ITS INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS AND LAWS.

AT THE SAME TIME, THE POLITICAL MOBILIZATION OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY MOVED RAPIDLY AHEAD. A COMBINATION OF ENTHUSIASM AND STUDENT COERCION CREATED AN UNPRECEDENTED SOLIDARITY AND SENSE OF MOMENTUM WITHIN MOST TOWNSHIPS. THE DEATH OF STEVE BIKO IN SEPTEMBER 1977 ADDED ANOTHER MAJOR EMOTIONAL IMPETUS. THE PRESSURES
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AND POLITICIZATION WERE BEGINNING TO SPREAD EVEN TO THE MORE DOCILE OF THE HOMELANDS. IT WAS CLEAR THE THE GOVERNMENT WAS EFFECTIVELY EXERCISING POWER TO CONTROL AND POLITICALLY MANIPULATE THE TOWNSHIPS.

6. BY OCTOBER 19, THE SAG HAD DECIDED ON ITS POLICY. THE BANNINGS AND DETENTIONS OF THAT DATE SUPPRESSED MOST OVERT ORGANS OF DISSIDENCE IMPACTING WITHIN THE BLACK COMMUNITY, BOTH MODERATE AND MILITANT, THOSE ESSENTIALLY WHITE (THE CHRISTIAN INSTITUTE), AND THOSE SECLUSIVELY BLACK (THE BPC). JUSTICE MINISTER KRUGER SPELLED OUT THE LOGIC OF THE GOVERNMENT'S MOVE BOTH SHORTLY BEFORE AND AFTER THE EVENT. KRUGER EQUATED BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS WITH BLACK POWER, BLACK POWER WITH BLACK RULE, AND BLACK RULE WITH WHITE DESTRUCTION-; ERGO, ANY GROUP PROMOTING THE PRINCIPLES OF BLACK POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS WAS SUBVERSIVE.

7. VORSTER AND HIS COLLEAGUES APPARENTLY BELIEVED THAT REMOVAL OF AGITATORS AND EFFECTIVE DEMONSTRATION THAT THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NOT TOLERATE THE GROWTH OF INDEPENDENT BLACK POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS TRANSCENDING THE HOMELANDS WOULD CHECK THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL MOMENTUM OF THE MOVEMENT. BY COMBINING A STRONG HAND WITH A PACKAGE OF PROMISED ENTICEMENTS AND REFORMS, INCLUDING ELEMENTS OF AUTONOMY FOR THE TOWNSHIPS, THE SAG HOPED TO RESTORE ITS BASIC CONTROL OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS THROUGH DEPENDENT BLACK LEADERS AND INSTITUTIONS.

8. THE ACTIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT HAVE IN FACT TRANSFORMED THE DYNAMICS OF THE MOVEMENT AND ALTERED THE ROLE AND PROSPECTS OF THE VARIOUS ELEMENTS OF THE STRUGGLE.

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THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

9. BLACK STUDENTS HAVE FOUND IT DIFFICULT TO MAINTAIN THE DIRECTION AND MOMENTUM OF THEIR PAST EFFORTS. THE SMALLER

TOWNSHIP STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS (SRC) IN PARTICULAR DEPENDED ON BPC AND SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS ORGANIZATION (SASO) CONNECTIONS FOR MUCH OF THEIR ORGANIZATIONAL IMPETUS. AS PROTEST AGAINST SPECIFIC TARGETS BEGIN TO APPEAR MORE FUTILE AND DANGEROUS, AND AS THE MORE SWEEPING BUT LONGER-TERM REVOLUTIONARY GOAL HAS COME INTO FOCUS, SCHOOL BOYCOTTS AGAINST BANTU EDUCATION HAVE SHRUNK IN IMPORTANCE.

10. THE SCHOOL BOYCOTTS NOW APPEAR TO MANY AS SELF-DEFEATING AND DEPRIVING THE STUDENT MOVEMENT OF ITS ORGANIZATIONAL BASE. IN MOST TOWNSHIPS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY, ATTENDANCE HAS BEEN NORMAL; IN THE VOLATILE SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN SOWETO, PRETORIA'S ATTERIDGEVILLE, AND THE PORT ELIZABETH TOWNSHIPS, THE MILITANTS AT FIRST REMAINED COMMITTED TO THE BOYCOTT, BUT AS THE YEAR HAS PROGRESSED, MANY HAVE URGED THEIR FOLLOWERS TO RETURN TO CLASS. THE GOVERNMENT HAS PROMOSSED A NUMBER OF CONCESSIONS INCLUDING COMPULSORY EDUCATION ON AN EXPERIMENTAL REGIONAL BASIS AND IT HAS INCREASED SPENDING IN BLACK EDUCATION BY 22 PERCENT IN THE LATEST BUDGET. THESE PROMISED CHANGES IN THE SUBSTANCE AS WELL AS THE STYLE OF BANTU EDUCATION MAY TAKE MORE STEAM OUT OF THE STUDENT BOYCOTT MOVEMENT.

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11. CONSEQUENTLY, FUTURE STUDENT ACTION COULD INCREASE-
INGLY FOCUS ON TWO DIFFERENT COURSES. ONE SEGMENT OF
THE DISSIDENT STUDENT COMMUNITY MAY TURN TO INTIMIDATION OF
BLACK COLLABORATORS AND SPORADIC VIOLENCE AIMED AT THE WHITE
COMMUNITY. YOUNG MILITANTS IN THE TOWNSHIPS COULD, IN
EFFECT, BECOME ESSENTIALLY PART-TIME AMATUER INSURGENTS RATHER
THAN AGITATORS AND PROTESTORS WORKING TO BRING DOWN SPECIFIC
ASPECTS OF THE SYSTEM SUCH AS BANTU EDUCATION. TO BE
EFFECTIVE, THOSE WHO ARE PREPARED TO PLAY THIS ROLE MAY
EVENTUALLY FIND THEMSELVES DRAWN INTO THE MORE PROFESSIONAL
RANKS OF THE ANC AND THE PAC. THUS, THE POST SOWETO 1976
REJECTION OF THE OLD EXILE PARTIES BY THE NEW GENERATION OF
STUDENT LEADERS AND THEIR IDEA THAT THEY WOULD SOMEHOW
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CONTINUE TO LEAD THE REVOLUTION AS THEY LED THE PROTESTS
IN THE TOWNSHIPS MAY BECOME IRRELEVANT NOTIONS.

12. ANOTHER SEGMENT OF THE MILITANT STUDENT COMMUNITY
SEEMS TO BE VIEWING ALL CONFRONTATION EFFORTS AS COUNTER-
PRODUCTIVE FOR THE PRESENT. THIS GROUP IS TAKING THE MORE
PRAGMATIC APPROACH THAT ONLY THE INSTILLATION OF LONG-
TERM REVOLUTIONARY IDEAS AND ZEAL IN THE BLACK POPULATION
WILL SET THE STAGE FOR THE FUTURE REVOLUTION. ON THIS
BASIS, THESE STUDENTS RATIONALIZE A RETURN TO SCHOOL
AND LESS EMPHASIS ON PROTEST MOVEMENTS IN GENERAL.
THIS GROUP, HOWEVER, REMAINS RADICALIZED AND PROVIDES
A LARGE POTENTIAL FOR ORGANIZATIONAL RESURGENCE AND
ACTION AMONG THE STUDENTS SHOULD THE SITUATION CHANGE.

BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS ORGANS

13. WHILE THE BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS MOVEMENT IS CONTINUING,
IT HAS ALSO BEEN HURT BY THE OCTOBER 19 LOSS OR INTIMIDATION
OF MOST OF ITS MASS ORGANS AND LEADING PROPONANTS. IN ADDITION TO
INKATHA AND ITS NEW ALLIANCE AND THE INDEPENDENT BLACK
CHURCHES, MOST COUNTRY-WIDE ORGANIZATIONS AND JOURNALS
NOW ENCOURAGING BLACK POLITICAL AWARENESS ON A MASS BASIS
ARE LARGELY WHITE OR MULTI-RACIAL, I.E., THE LIBERAL ENGLISH-
LANGUAGE PRESS, THE SOUTH AFRICAN COUNCIL OF CHURCHES AND THE
INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS. THE NEW SOWETO ACTION COMMITTEE,
AND ORGANIZATIONS SUCH AS THE AFRICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
HAVE ATTEMPTED TO FILL THE ROLE OF SPOKESMAN FOR THE BLACK
COMMUNITY ON SPECIFIC ISSUES; BUT, AS THEY LACK THE COMMITTEE
OF TEN'S ORGANIZATION AND THE BACKING OF BOTH MILITANTS
AND MODERATES, THE GOVERNMENT HAS LARGELY IGNORED THEM.
SHOULD SUCH GROUPS BEGIN TO BUILD SUBSTANTIAL SUPPORT

AND AUTHORITY ON THE BASIS OF BLACK CONSCIOUSNESS AND
DEFIANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT, THEY WOULD FACE SUPPRESSIVE
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ACTION. LIKEWISE, SHOULD THE MASS CIRCULATION POST UNDER RECENTLY
RELEASED EDITOR PERCY QOBOZA BE SEEN AS TOO PROVOCATIVE,
THE GOVERNMENT WILL NOT HESITATE TO MOVE AGAINST IT.

14. ERADICATION OR INTIMIDATION OF OVERT ORGANS OF BLACK
POLITICAL MOBILIZATION HAS AT LEAST IN THE SHORT TERM
ALREADY DIMINISHED POPULAR UNREST IN MOST OF THE TOWNSHIPS
ALTHOUGH INCIDENTS OF TERRORISM (PARTICULARLY PETROL
BOMBINGS) CONTINUE WITH SOME FREQUENCY IN SOWETO AND IN THE
PORT ELIZABETH AREA, CIVIL UNREST IS STILL AT A SERIOUS LEVEL
(PRETORIA 1374).

HOW LONG THE RELATIVE CALM WILL LAST IS IMPOSSIBLE TO
SAY, BUT THE GOVERNMENT'S RELEASE OF QOBOZA, DR. MOTLANA
AND A NUMBER OF OTHERS DETAINED ON OCTOBER 19 SUGGESTS
A SENSE OF CONFIDENCE AS WELL AS A TACTIC OF MOXING
CONCILIATORY GESTURES INTO THE CONTROL STRATEGY.

URBAN BLACK AUTONOMY

15. STUDENTS AND RADICALS SUPPORTED THE SOWETO COMMITTEE
OF TEN'S INITIATIVE LAST YEAR FOR SELF GOVERNMENT IN THE
TOWNSHIP, EVEN THOUGH IT ENTAILED WORKING WITHIN THE SYSTEM
AND IGNORED THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEMS OF APARTHEID.
MODERATE AS WELL AS MILITANT BLACKS BELIEVED THAT IF THEY
COULD ACHIEVE AUTONOMY IN THE TOWNSHIPS IT WOULD PROVIDE
THE POWER FOR THE FUTURE STRUGGLE, INCLUDING A
MEASURE OF CONTROL OVER JOHANNESBURG'S BLACK LABOR FORCE.
THE SAG ITSELF HAD ACCEPTED THE IDEA OF MOVING TOWARD
AUTONOMY FOR THE TOWNSHIPS AS A WAY TO DAMPEN DISCONTENT
IN THE URBAN AREAS AND AT THE SAME TIME TO LINK MOST
OF THE TOWNSHIPS INTO THE HOMELANDS AND THUS FURTHER
THE GOAL OF SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT. THE GOVERNMENT,
HOWEVER, SAW THE DANGER OF ACCEPTING THE COMMITTEE OF
TEN'S INITIATIVE AND THEREBY RECOGNIZING THE PRINCIPLE
THAT SOLUTION OF THE RACIAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF SOUTH
AFRICA LAY IN NEGOTIATION OUTSIDE A FRAMEWORK
DETERMINED AND CONTROLLED BY THE GOVERNMENT. THE SAG
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THUS DETAINED THE MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN IN THE
OCTOBER 19 SWEEP AND PUSHED AHEAD WITH ITS OWN SCHEME FOR
COMMUNITY COUNCILS.

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16. WITH THE SITUATION NOW SEEN BY THE GOVERNMENT AS AT
LEAST TEMPORARILY PACIFIED, THE NEW MINISTER OF PLURAL
(FORMERLY BANTU) AFFAIRS CONNIE MULDER IS TAKING A MORE
CONCILIATORY APPROACH IN TRYING TO ENTICE GREATER BLACK COMMUNITY
ACCEPTANCE OF THE GOVERNMENT PRESCRIBED COUNCILS. IN SOME
TOWNSHIPS, SUCH AS IN THE VAL TRIANGLE, INCLUDING
SHARPESVILLE, THE COUNCIL ELECTIONS WERE MODERATELY
SUCCESSFUL, GAINING A 25 PERCENT TURNOUT. BUT THEY WERE A
DISMAL FAILURE IN SOWETO WHERE THERE WAS ONLY A 5 PERCENT
TURNOUT IN THE MARCH ELECTIONS. ALTHOUGH MULDER
ARRANGED THE RELEASE OF MOST OF THE COMMITTEE OF TEN
MEMBERS, BY-ELECTIONS FOR THE UNFILLED SEATS IN SOWETO ACHIEVED
ONLY A 6 PERCENT TURNOUT. NEVERTHELESS, BECAUSE OF MULDER'S
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APPROACH AND A CERTAIN INCREASED SENSE OF SECURITY, A NUMBER OF BLACK CONSERVATIVES HAVE BEEN EMBOLDENED TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GOVERNMENT-PRESCRIBED POLITICAL STRUCTURES IN THE TOWNSHIPS. MOST MODERATES ARE UNWILLING TO ACCEPT ONLY A PROMISE OF GRADUALLY INCREASING AUTONOMY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COUNCILS, BUT ARE STILL INTERESTED IN GENUINE NEGOTIATIONS TO ACHIEVE THEIR OBJECTIVE OF URBAN POWER BASES. MULDER'S TASK IS TO TRY TO MAKE THE GOVERNMENT'S MECHANISM FOR GRADUAL AND CONTROLLED AUTONOMY WORK WITHOUT TOTALLY ALIENATING THE MODERATES OR ENTERING INTO A NEGOTIATING PROCESS IN WHICH THE GOVERNMENT WOULD COMPROMISE ITS ABSOLUTE AUTHORITY AND ITS RIGHT OF CONTROL.

INKATHA AND SABA

17. MEANWHILE, MANY OF THE LEADING BLACK RADICALS WHO HAD CRITICIZED GATSHA BUTHELEZI'S WITHIN-THE-SYSTEM APPROACH ARE NOW THEMSELVES EFFECTIVELY OUT OF THE INTERNAL REVOLUTION--EITHER BANNED, IN JAIL, OR IN EXILE. BUTHELEZI IS THE MOST PROMINENT BLACK NATIONALIST LEFT FREE AND ACTIVE IN SOUTH AFRICA AND HIS INKATHA MOVEMENT IS THE ONLY MASS, DISSIDENT POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF REAL STRENGTH LEFT UNBANNED IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY.

18. BUTHELEZI THUS FACES STILL ANOTHER RAMIFICATION OF HIS CONTINUING POLITICAL DILEMMA. HE WISHES TO ESTABLISH THAT HIS OWN NATIONALIST CREDENTIALS TRANSCEND THE ZULU NATION AND TO ADVANCE HIS PERSONAL POSITION OF LEADERSHIP. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, HE MUST CONTINUE TO WORK WITHIN THE SYSTEM AND NOT CROSS THE UNDEFINED THRESHOLD OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE OF HIS ANTI-SAG POLITICAL ACTIVITY.

19. BUTHELEZI'S PRIVATE COMMENTS TO US INDICATE THAT HE
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IS INCLINED TO PROCEED CIRCUMSPECTLY BUT TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE HIS LONG-TERM OBJECTIVE OF ORGANIZING A MASS BLACK CONSTITUENCY, INCLUDING NON-ZULUS, FOR A FUTURE AS YET UNREVEALED PROGRAM OF MASS ACTION. THE CHIEF IS ALSO PROBABLY PREPARING FOR THE UNCERTAIN DAY WHEN THE SAG, LIKE RHODESIA TODAY, WILL FEEL PRESSED TO THE WALL AND MAY SEEK TO NEGOTIATE POLITICAL POWER-SHARING WITH MODERATE BLACKS.

20. ALTHOUGH BUTHELEZI HAS KEPT HIS LINES OPEN TO THE EXILED ANC AND PAC LEADERS, BLACK RADICALS AND THE YOUNG GENERATION OF NON-ZULUS REMAIN HOSTILE TO HIM AS DEMONSTRATED AT THE MARCH 11 ROBERT SOBUKWE FUNERAL (CAPE TOWN 486). MOST RECENTLY BUTHELEZI HAS FORMED THE SOUTH AFRICAN BLACK ALLIANCE (SABA) WITH THE COLORED

LABOR PARTY AND THE INDIAN REFORM PARTY. THOUGH EARLY IN ITS DEVELOPMENT, SABA REPRESENTS THE MOST IMPORTANT EFFORT TO DATE TO UNITE MODERATE AFRICAN, COLORED AND INDIAN OPINION IN A CAMPAIGN OF NON-VIOLENT OPPOSITION TO THE SAG FOCUSED ON THE STRUCTURING OF AN ALTERNATIVE CONSTITUTION FOR SOUTH AFRICA.

21. RADICAL BLACKS HAVE SO FAR GREETED SABA WITH THE SAME HOSTILITY THEY HAVE SHOWN TO BUTHELEZI AND INKATHA. HOWEVER, THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME OLDER ELEMENTS WITHIN THE BPC ARE RECONSIDERING THEIR POSITION REGARDING BUTHELEZI AND ARE BEGINNING EFFORTS TO PERSUADE MORE MILITANT AND YOUNGER BPC ADHERENTS THAT THE NEW ALLIANCE PROVIDES A POLITICAL VEHICLE WHICH COULD BE USED TO ADVANCE THEIR GOALS (CAPE TOWN 575). OPPOSITION TO BUTHELEZI, PARTICULARLY AMONG THE YOUNGER GENERATION OF NON-ZULUS IS DEEP ROOTED. CONSEQUENTLY THE FUTURE IMPACT OF SABA ON THE BLACK MOVEMENT OVERALL AND ON SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL POLITICS IS UNCERTAIN. IT MAY FADE RAPIDLY LIKE THE 1976 BLACK UNITY FRONT, BUT MEANWHILE IT MAY ATTRACT WORLD ATTENTION AND COMPLICATE THE GOVERNMENT'S EFFORTS TO

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WIN COLORED AND INDIAN APPROVAL OF ITS OWN NEW CONSTITUTIONAL PROPOSAL, WHICH EXCLUDES BLACKS FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN BODY OF POLITIC.

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CONCLUSION

22. BECAUSE OF THE GOVERNMENT'S CRACKDOWN ON BLACK POLITICAL DISSIDENCE, THE DYNAMICS OF THE BLACK MOVEMENT IN 1978 IS SUBSTANTIALLY DIFFERENT FROM THAT OF 1976-77. VIOLENT OUTBREAKS IN THE TOWNSHIPS WILL NO DOUBT CONTINUE, BUT POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS AND PROTESTS, AS WELL AS OTHER FORMS OF CONFRONTATIONAL POLITICS ARE PROBABLY NOW PERCEIVED BY A LARGE SEGMENT OF THE BLACK COMMUNITY AS NOT ONLY MORE DIFFICULT BUT PROBABLY LESS RELEVANT AS WELL. THUS, THE GOVERNMENT MAY BE ABLE TO CLAIM OVER THE NEXT YEAR THAT ITS STRATEGY OF COMBINING COERCION ("LAW AND ORDER") WITH PROMISED CONCESSION AND REFORM HAS SUCCEEDED IN RESTORING RELATIVE PEACE TO THE TOWNSHIPS. CONFIDENTIAL

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THE SAG MAY ALSO HAVE SOME VISIBLE SUCCESS IN BUILDING A NEW STRUCTURE OF POLITICAL COOPERATION WITH CONSERVATIVE AND EVEN SOME MODERATE URBAN BLACKS WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE COMMUNITY COUNCILS.

23. BUT WHILE THE GOVERNMENT HAS IMPROVED ITS CONTROL OF THE SITUATION, FOR THE MILITANT BLACK AND THE YOUNG GENERALLY, THE STRUGGLE FOR RADICAL CHANGE WITHIN SOUTH AFRICA IS TENDING TO BECOME LESS A POLITICAL PROCESS AIMED AT ALTERING INSTITUTIONS AND MORE A REVOLUTIONARY ONE AIMED AT THE OVERTHROW OF A REGIME.

24. AT THE SAME TIME, THE GAP APPEARS TO BE WIDENING BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARIES, PARTICULARLY THE YOUNGER GENERATION AND THE MODERATES SUCH AS BUTHELEZI, PERCY QOBOZA AND DR. MOTLANA, WHO ARE STILL INTENT ON MANEUVERING IN THE SYSTEM AND BUILDING FOR THE FUTURE. EVEN WITHIN THE LATTER GROUP THERE EXIST SHARP DIFFERENCES OF OPINION. POLARIZATION ALSO SEEMS TO BE INCREASING BETWEEN GENERATIONS WITHIN THE MORE RADICAL WING OF THE MOVEMENT. MILITANTS OF STEVE BIKO'S GENERATION AND OLDER ARE WILLING TO COOPERATE WITH MODERATES BUT THE YOUNGER MILITANTS REJECT ANY COMPROMISES WITH THE SYSTEM WHETHER IN THE TOWN-

SHIPS OR IN THE HOMELANDS, AND INSTEAD SEE DIRECT ACTION AS THE ONLY WAY TO ACHIEVE RESULTS.

25. THE BLACK COMMUNITY ITSELF, WE BELIEVE, REMAINS LARGELY MODERATE AND OPPOSED TO VIOLENCE. BUT REVOLUTIONARY RESISTANCE HAS BECOME MORE ACCEPTABLE THROUGHOUT THE COMMUNITY, AND MODERATE LEADERS FEEL THAT THEY CANNOT CONDEMN ANC AND PAC TERRORISM, INDEED, THEY PROBABLY RECOGNIZE THIS ACTIVITY AS AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT IF NOT VITAL PRESSURE FOR CHANGE. THUS, OVER
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THE NEXT FEW YEARS, THE MODERATES WILL CONTINUE TO ORGANIZE AND REORGANIZE TO THE LIMIT OF GOVERNMENT TOLERANCE; BLACK POWER BASES WILL CONTINUE TO EVOLVE WITHIN SOME OF THE HOMELANDS AND TOWNSHIPS; STUDENT PROTESTS AND ATTACKS ON "COLLABORATORS" WILL CONTINUE TO FLARE UP AND DIE AWAY, AND ANOTHER "SOWETO 76" COULD ALWAYS OCCUR OVER SOME UNPREDICTABLE INCIDENT. BUT THE ONE MANIFESTATION OF THE BLACK STRUGGLE STEADILY BUILDING IS RESISTANCE ORGANIZED AND SUPPORTED FROM ABROAD. IN A SUBSEQUENT REPORT WE WILL REVIEW THE DEVELOPMENT OF TERRORISM IN THE REPUBLIC AND COMMENT ON ITS FUTURE PROSPECTS.
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